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The history of the study of human mental ability is an example of the dialectic in social science between those who interpret data within the framework of existing social inequities and those who look for perspectives that might eventually dissolve inequities. The dedication of Henry Herbert Goddard to a belief in the scientific proof of hereditary intelligence and the need to stratify society by mental ability was part of an effort in the beginning of this century to rationalize dramatic social and economic inequities. Our school systems are still heavily marked by the procedures that gained credence during this period. Tracking (recently obscured under the euphemism of "ability grouping"), intelligence testing and labeling are an unavoidable part of receiving an education in this country. Goddard's work was central to the institutionalization of these tools of stratification and segregation. A look at Goddard's methodology and data analysis shows a clear class bias that permeated and distorted both his theoretical efforts and his proposed practical solutions. It becomes apparent that Goddard's work is not a measure of psychological abilities but rather an evaluation of social behavior based on the standards of one set of class values. (Author)

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Henry Herbert Goddard and the Politics of Mental Measurement (1910-1920)

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ABSTRACT

The history of the study of human mental ability is an example of the dialectic in social science between those who interpret data within the framework of existing social inequities and those who look for perspectives that might eventually dissolve inequities. The dedication of Henry Herbert Goddard to a belief in the scientific proof of hereditary intelligence and the need to stratify society by mental ability was part of an effort in the beginning of this century to rationalize dramatic social and economic inequities. Our school systems are still heavily marked by the procedures that gained credence during this period. Tracking (recently obscured under the euphemism of "ability grouping"), intelligence testing and labeling are an unavoidable part of receiving an education in this country. Goddard's work was central to the institutionalization of these tools of stratification and segregation. A look at Goddard's methodology and data analysis shows a clear class bias that permeated and distorted both his theoretical efforts and his proposed practical solutions. It becomes apparent that Goddard's work is not a measure of psychological abilities but rather an evaluation of social behavior based on the standards of one set of class values.

The study of mental ability has most often been a social struggle over apriori notions of the fixed nature of existing social hierarchies and the development of classification systems that support those hierarchies. The act of classifying is not in itself, a social problem. It is a property of the human mind to classify as a means of organizing the environment and creating meaning. It is only when value is projected into a classification system and hierarchies are developed that attempts by some groups to dominate others appear. Hierarchies have to be sustained by some system of classification that feeds the hierarchy, that sorts

individuals into their strata. Throughout human history sex, race/ethnicity and class have provided categories for the rank-ordering of the species. If we look at theories that accept and promote inequalities we inevitably find an ideological justification that assumes a natural or divine order; one that is hierarchial. Certainly attempts to classify and categorize people by various definitions of mental ability fall into this pattern. The usual process is to create a tool for measurement, hierarchially rank the responses of sub-populations and generalize the resultant model to the entire society. This is usually carried out under the assumption that what has been measured has a real, physical existence somewhere in the human brain. The social order that results is then justified by the concept of a unilinear quality of human intelligence.

In the early part of this century a generation of psychologists and others built the foundation for their profession upon this process. Adopting an apriori position that intelligence was a unilinear attribute, distributed along a gradient from most to least and fixed at birth by heredity, they evolved a system of laws to explain and control social behavior. Two ideological givens were central to their model: a) the paternalistic proposition that those of lower intelligence seek and follow the advice of those of higher intelligence, who in turn are obligated, for the survival of the society, to be benevolent leaders and

to understand as fully as possible just how individuals like Goddard come to formulate such extreme, yet popular, theories.

Between 1914 and 1919 Goddard was an active advocate of social stratification by mental ability. During his time as Director of Research at the Training School at Vineland, New Jersey for Feebleminded Girls and Boys, Goddard claimed to have developed a tool and method for rank-ordering the entire society and thereby improving productive efficiency and reducing social problems of crime, poverty and immorality. Goddard justified generalizing from the feebleminded to the larger society on the homily that the behaviors and lifestyles of the mentally defective reveal in their simplicity lessons for those of us in the larger more complex system. Specifically, by studying the feebleminded we learn that just as there are degrees or gradations of mental defects, so are there gradations of mental normalacy. In fact, Goddard claimed, all humanity is on a continuum from the least to the most intelligent, with a large group of moderate intelligence in the middle.

Goddard maintained that environments could also be ranked from simple (rural) to complex (urban, modern) and work could be ranked according to the degree of intelligence required. What then followed was that workers could thus be identified according to their mental ability and could be matched to a job. More pay, of course, would be granted for jobs requiring higher intelligence.

caretakers; and b) the denial of all socio-economic and historical factors in order to support an extreme socio-biological explanation of the causes of human suffering.

Within the intelligence movement in the early part of this century Henry Herbert Goddard was one of the most dedicated and industrious workers. He supervised the translation of the groundbreaking work of the French psychologist, Alfred Binet, and later toured Europe and inspected facilities and programs for the mentally defective. Goddard took personal pride in "cleaning up" the classification system for mental deficiency and creating a word, moron, for the "high grade" defective. Goddard's efforts were a major contribution to the popularization of scales of mental measurement and their accompanying classification systems.

Stephen Jay Gould has called Goddard the most "unsubtle" hereditarian of his generation.[1] And certainly in reviewing Goddard's writings one is constantly struck by his unchecked advocacy of blatant elitism. Goddard's type of theorizing can only come from the uncritical acceptance of a society stratified by hierarchies of human worth. Unfortunately theories like Goddard's are not restricted to one generation or one field of study. Hierarchial conceptualizations of humanity seem to be the constant companion of attempts to share the social, political and economic advantages of our society. It remains instructive

This fit nicely with Goddard's corrolary plan to identify the intelligence required by various school subjects and place children according to their level of intelligence, with the eventual tracking of children into industrial or literate tracks.

In addition to his research into the mental status of the families of the residents of the Vineland Training School, Goddard used the results of the 1917 Army Alpha Tests and the assessment of immigrants arriving at Ellis Island to support the argument for the "scientific" stratification of human society. Relying on evolutionary theory, particularly Mendelian laws of genetic transmission and theories of brain and neural physiology, Goddard constructed a rationalization for the existing social ills and projected a future society where control and planning by the intelligent few would bring happiness for the totality.

Goddard had two social agendas, although he saw them as part of one continuum. The feebleminded had to be colonized and the normal had to be ranked and stratified. All social problems were reduced to the need for social planning based on a hierarchical conceptualization of intelligence. Goddard derived the link between social problems and intelligence from the supposed relationship between responsibility and intelligence. Just as there were all grades of intelligence from very low to genius, there were all grades of responsibility from zero to the highest. Reasoning from the premise that people commit transgressions because they do not have the intelligence to know

better, Goddard saw the vast majority of criminals, prostitutes and paupers as having too low of an intelligence to be otherwise, given the corrupting circumstances of most social environments. He recommended that these people, analogous to children who do not have the mental capacity to know better, be sheltered from the society that would corrupt them. The corrolary is that society would also be protected from them, particularly if efforts to keep them from reproducing would be successful.

Early in this century the classification system of mental deficiency was subject to some debate. The first two categories of a three tier arrangement were generally agreed upon: idiots, could not develop full speech and had a mental age below three; imbeciles, could not master written language and ranged from three to seven in mental age. The third category, the high grade defective, whom Goddard christened "morons" were, and still are, the subject of more controversy. Goddard was most interested in the "higher grade," the feebleminded, those whose mental age was from seven to twelve years. It was this group that Goddard cautioned had gone unrecognized by both the general public and the professional community. Citing the fact that they were usually normal looking, frequently able to talk fluently, and generally good natured, Goddard lamented that the public was slow to recognize them as defectives incapable of learning.

> So strong is their resemblance to the normal person that altho they are well understood by those who have studied them and have dealt with them in Institutions, yet there are many people even today who refuse to admit that they cannot be trained to function like normal people. Yet they are the persons who make for us our social problems. (1914, pg. 5)

By providing a link between the mentally deficient and the masses of working people, this category, the "almost normal made possible the rationalization of a progression of human mental ability from the most deficient to the most brilliant.

Goddard's Methodology and Data

Goddard was also involved in the eugenics movement and the quest to prove the inheritability of intelligence. During his years as director of research at the Vineland Institute Goddard supervised a study of hereditary feeblemindedness. He applied Alfred Binet's mental age scale to each of the 361 residents of the training school. Each resident was given a label of a particular mental age, ranging from one to twelve years. In order to scientifically study the issue of hereditary intelligence, Goddard decided to assess the intelligence of every member of the families of each of the inmates. The use of the word assess is deceptive; members of the families were not by any means evaluated by the Binet scale. Having failed to elicit

sufficient responses from a questionnaire mailed to members of the families of the residents of the Training School, Goddard developed a methodology that was a combination of anthropological field work and a clinical, open-ended interview. Trained fieldworkers, (whom Goddard emphasized were of high intelligence and had a great deal of experience with the feebleminded) were sent out into the community to interview family, friends and neighbors. To gain access to these families, the interviewer introduced herself as being from the Institute and bringing a message from their child. They then gradually disclosed that they were studying the child's case and wanted information. Goddard noted that families were always cooperative. "It may well be remembered in this connection, that the majority of these people are of the type that like to talk about their own affairs." (1914, pg. 22) The process, according to Goddard, was productive and reliable.

> We deemed it wiser to explain to the people as well as possible the purpose we had in view, and then allow them to talk, directing their conversation along certain special lines, such as to bring out the facts in regarding to any members of the family who might be feeble-minded, alcoholic, insane, or dependent upon charity, etc. or on the otherhand who might be free from any or all of these.
>
> As a rule, our workers have easily been able to decide the mentality of the persons they saw. In some cases, indeed, it was not so easy and only after much observation

> and questioning of neighbors and friends as to the conduct and life of these persons was it possible to come to a reasonably satisfactory conclusion. (1941, pg. 27)

Goddard's methodology had several flaws. The most easily noted problems arise with his acceptance of local sterotypes as defining characteristics of categories of mental ability. Goddard's fieldworkers gathered information on marriage practices and sexual behavior, drinking habits and general health problems, lineage systems and economic means--information traditionally gathered through methodologies that utilize informants. Had Goddard limited his analysis to sexuality, alcoholism and subsistence societies, he could have justified his methodology. Instead, however, he used information about social behavior to classify individuals into categories of mental ability, categories developed from the Americanization of the Binet Scale of Mental Measurement. Value laden stereotypes within categories of social activity became the defining properties of categories of mental ability.[2]

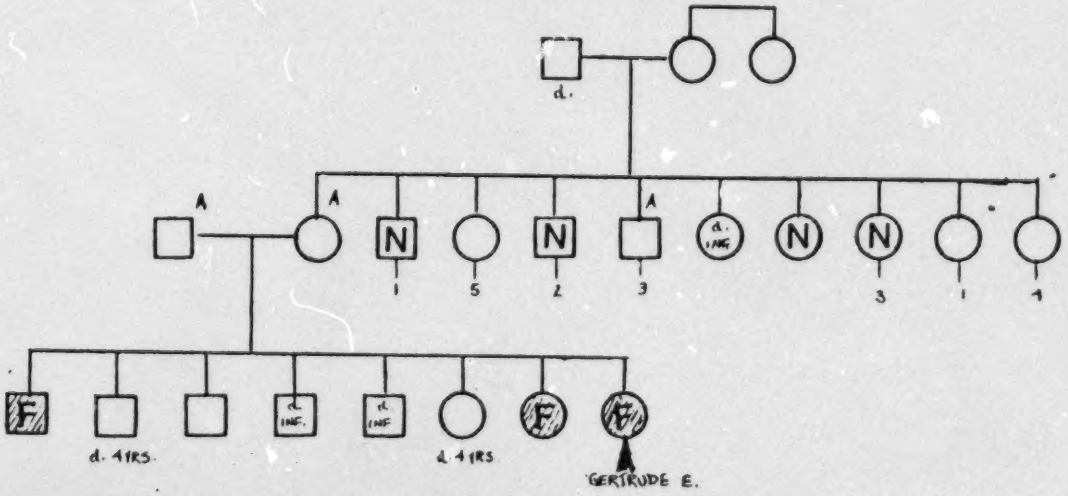
Goddard saw his data as the basis for new scientific theories and changed social action. He stressed the conservative nature of his data, the effort to label accurately, and the tendency to label toward the normal rather than the defective when in doubt. However, he later noted that he and his fieldworkers reviewed their studies and switched more and more individuals from the category of normal to feebleminded.

> It will be seen that all of these changes are in the direction of making the histories worse rather than better. This is natural because we were all more conservative in the beginning and the fieldworkers were not so familiar with feeblemindedness. They did not recognize the finer symptoms and were not willing to call anybody feebleminded who did not have some of the larger marks. As they came to have greater familiarity with persons known to be feebleminded they began to recognize the more obscure symptoms and were able to see somewhat beneath the surface. (1914, pg. 37)

Goddard's data consists of 400 of charts which represent in graphic form the history of each family. An accompanying narrative describes the condition of the child upon admission to the Training School, his or her progress and behavior in the school and some anecdotal information about the child's family. The following case, Gertrude, illustrates both the display of the data and the difficulty one has in feeling comfortable with Goddard's classifications. (See Appendix A for an explanation of symbols.)

HEREDITARY FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS

Chart 1



CASE 1. GERTRUDE E. 16 years old. Mentality 11. Has been here 7 years. American born, nationally of parents unknown.

Gertrude is a nice looking girl and when admitted at the age of nine was thought to be merely backward. She could take care of herself, read in the Primer, count to forty, knew ordinary combinations in numbers and was fond of music.

For two or three years we clung to the belief that she was merely a backward child. She made good progress in school work, learned to read quite well, could reproduce a story and memorize rapidly; did excellently in entertainments. Gradually, however, in spite of all efforts she fell behind and soon reached her limit in reading, writing, and number work, and apparently her mental development ceased at eleven. She shows relatively high intelligence, however, in almost everything she does; does excellent work about the cottage, sews very well, is quite a musician, helps in the kindergarten, and is generally a useful, pleasing girl. She is nearly always good tempered, although very changeable, inclined to be moody, is sometimes very sober; is obedient, truthful, active and affectionate. She dances and sings and loves to appear in entertainment work. Her defect is hard to describe. Everyone who knows her feels that she ought to develop and yet it is perfectly clear that she will not; she is incapable of generalizing or having an ambition or developing any womanly qualities such as become her age.

Gertrude is a good example of that type of girl who, loose in the world, makes so much trouble. Her beauty and attractiveness and relatively high grade would enable her to pass almost anywhere as a normal child and yet she is entirely incapable of controlling herself and would be led astray most easily. It is fortunate for society that she is cared for as she is. (1914, pg. 50)

Both of Gertrude's parents are classified alcoholic (A). Four of her syblings died in infancy or early childhood. A look at Goddard's records show that doctors and intake workers did frequently list the mother's pre-natal condition as a "probable cause" of the defect. (see Appendix B) In this case we see an alcoholic woman producing physically non-viable offspring. Although Goddard states that "a glance at the family chart will show that it is pretty clear that there must be an hereditary taint", the only other individuals labeled feebleminded (F) are a brother and a sister. (1914 pg.50) All of the other members of the extended family are either normal (N) or unknown (blank).

Gertrude's story examplifies two striking characteristics common to most of Goddard's cases. First, many of the residents could function in society. They could be productive and happy if they were not exploited and abused. Because of the time needed in training, their efficiency was not up to the standards of the industrial age. Consequently, Goddard saw them as unable to compete for their survival in the outside world and vulnerable to exploitation by that world. The other characteristic that one sees over and over in Goddard's studies is the high incident of devastating poverty and agonizing homelife in the child's background. Gertrude's tale is actually one of the less oppressive of these case histories. Yet even here we see a 50% infant mortality rate and alcoholism in both parents. The incidence of childhood dissease, alcoholism, syphilis, miscarriage,

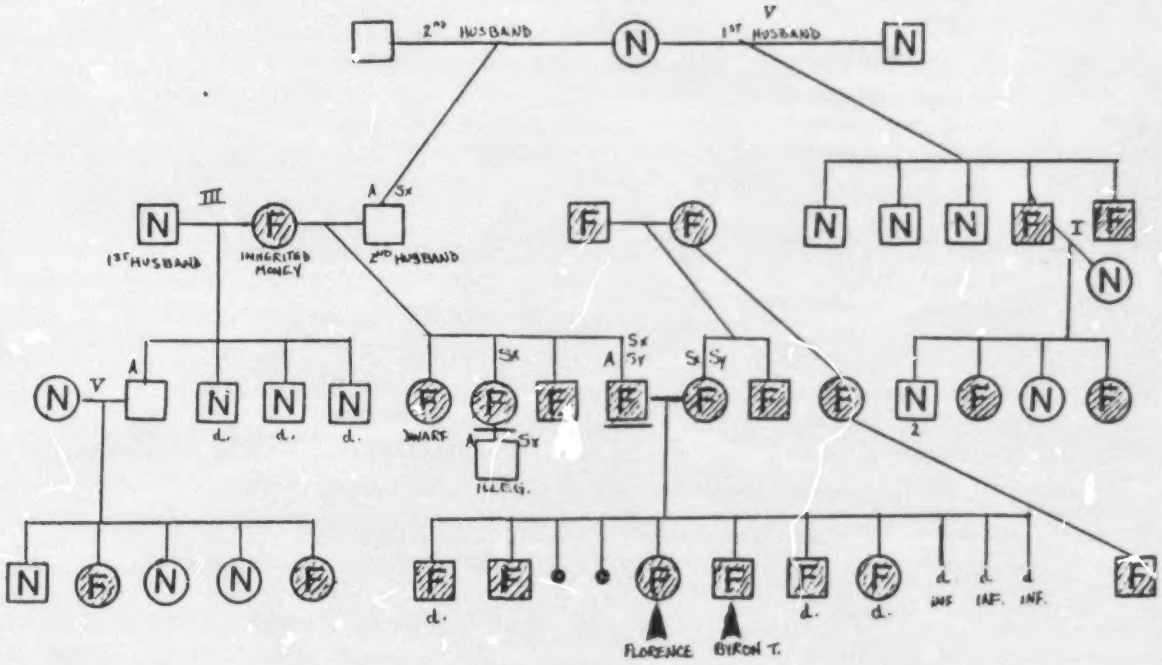
stillbirth, infant death, malnutrition and poverty mentioned in Goddard's charts and narratives is overwhelming. Many of these children and their families spent time is almshouses and the poor house. The data cries out for a more complex interpretation than one based on heredity.

Within the 327 families studied, a total of 13,711 individuals were labeled as either normal (N) or feeble-minded (F). Based on the incidence of feeblemindedness in each generation Goddard categorized families into six labeled groups: hereditary feebleminded, probable hereditary, accidental, neuropathic, no assignable cause or unclassified. The label of the group presumabiiy reflected the cause of the defect. Goddard did not have a set formula for these divisions. His decision-making was rather impressionistic; the hereditary group, for example, contains families with anywhere from two to twenty feebleminded individuals.

Goddard was most interested in the hereditary feeble-minded group------families that were judged to produce feeble-mindedness as a result of a defective genetic strain. However, his own data contradicts his conclusions and the bulk of his discussion revolves around justifications for the establishment of this category. The case of a brother and sister, Byron and Florence, illustrates the environmental miseries apparent in Goddard's records and his attempt to deny their importance. Their chart is als

more representative of those that Goddard placed in the hereditary group in that individuals in several generations are identified as being feeble-minded.

Chart 2



From the chart we see that Byron and Florence's mother and father both had syphilis (sx) and the father was alcoholic (A). Out of 11 pregnancies, only 3 children survived. Both parents are also categorized as "sexually immoral" $(sx)^3$. All of Florence and Byron's aunts and uncles are labeled feeble-minded (F) as well as the maternal grandparents and other members of the extended family. Goddard evaluated Florence as good natured and a willing worker, but noted that

> if she were not in the care of the Institution she would probably be the wife of some low grade worker and the mother of many children, probably defective like herself. (1911, pg. 52)

Because of the appearance of individuals in several generations who are labeled "feeble-minded," Goddard dismissed environmental circumstances in favor of hereditary explanations.

> At a glance the chart shows what a very bad family this is. The parents were feeble-minded, syphilitic, and sexually immoral. The father, who was also alcoholic, died in an almshouse. This is one of the worst histories, socially and morally, that we have. It is said that the miscarriages and infant deaths in the family were syphilitic cases and were due directly to the contamination. It is evident that the defect here runs back at least into the fifth generation.
>
> Neither of the children would be recognized as defective if out in the world, and both would undoubtedly go the way of their ancestors in crime and immorality as well as in the matter of marrying and reproducing defective children. (1914, pg. 53)

Goddard frequently included samples of correspondence between the inmates and their families as further evidence of defective mental abilities. The following letter is from a mother whose son, Gussie, had requested that she take him out of the Institution.

> New York City
> 76 _____ Avenue
>
> My dear son Gussie
> You are better make up your to remain where you are for another year. And try and be contented. As I would have no busness of out now it is terrible warm in New York the heath is just killing Gussie

> the buiding where I am working is going to be pulled down so I will be out of work in a few week. So I cant have no home so be a good boy now and try and be contented for another year an other year will not be long slipping so the next time I go out here I will take you right out I remain your loving mother
>
> Nora G.
>
> (1914, pg. 71)

Goddard cited the letter as evidence that Gussie's mother was also feebleminded. He interpreted Gussie's strong desire to get out in the world and work for himself as the "working of a feebleminded individual of rather high grade, uncontrolled by any good judgment." (1914, pg 71) The record shows that when Gussie was 7 he and his mother went to the poorhouse, and at 8 he was sent to Vineland.

In his efforts to prevent the "feebleminded" from reproducing Goddard saw women as much more "dangerous" than their male counterparts.[4]

> The most troublesome group in this class (those who have formed habits which they cannot control) is the sex offender, especially the female. The male is not quite so serious a problem since his feeblemindedness renders him inexpert in making opportunities for wrong-doing and normal women will seldom have anything to do with feebleminded men. With the female it is quite different; having once learned the significance of this life she is always impelled by this instinct common to humanity and exercising no control over her impulses easily finds a male to accept what she has to offer. (1919 pg.78)

Of Mamie, a young woman of 24 who had been in the Institution for 17 years and tested at a mental age of 10, Goddard said:

> ...she is a quiet, attractive pleasant girl, very efficient, needs very little supervision, a very valuable helper in the

> kindergarten, leading the children in many ways and relieving the teacher of much work; besides that she takes all the care of the rooms of the assistant Superintendent and his wife. She can play the piano and plays a horn excellently in the band.
>
> A different environment would have made her the opposite, perhaps a criminal, perhaps a prostitute, undoubtedly a wife, and mother of defectives working hard to maintain a miserable existence struggling against odds that were too great for her.
>
> Maimie is a living and brilliant argument for the colonization of all the children of defective ancestors. They need permanent segregation, to the end that this kind of defective human stock may cease to perpetuate itself. (1914, pg. 89)

Another young woman, Mary, is described by Goddard as "that type of girl that is most dangerous in society". Goddard maintained that her attractive appearance and training enabled her to "deceive the very elect as to her capacity". (1914,pg. 93)[4] Goddard's analysis of prostitution follows a similar vein -- it was the inevitable result of the lack of colonization of feebleminded women. In addition we see Goddard's adamant rejection of any analysis that pointed to economic factors in mental development. Goddard chose to see environmental conditions as the result, not the cause, of mental variation.[5]

> Much has been made of the condition of the underpaid shopgirl who is compelled to supplement her earnings by immoral acts. Where a fair degree of intelligence is present the girl does not remain ignorant. The world is full of people who have started out with as little capital in the way of

> education as can be imagined, and yet the something within them has pushed them forward. Their inborn intelligence has enabled them to master the work of a trade and they have steadily forged to the front. So that it may well be contended that feeblemindedness is indirectly as well as directly the cause of much of the prostitution. (1914, pg. 14)

Goddard's analysis of paupers and ne'er-do-wells struck a similar note; it was not misfortune that brought about their condition, for society seldom allowed people to become paupers. People who were able to try could succeed.

> Humanity is so kind, so philanthropic that is is always willing to help the person who is desirous of helping himself and the misfortunes of life are overcome by this mutual helpfullness. (1914, pg. 17)

Likewise truants were seen as children who could not succeed in school, not because of the environment of the school, but because of their mentality.

> We need careful tests of the mentality of truants. One such study shows upwards of 80% of them feebleminded. (1914, pg. 19)

Thus Goddard had created a category of high grade mentally defectives who passed by manner and speech for normal, but whose vices, crimes and lifestyles revealed that indeed they were unable by mental defect to make the decision to live otherwise. Not having achieved the mental age of a child over 12 years, they were victimized by society, perpetuated acts that society paid for and reproduced themselves indiscriminately.

Goddard's discussion of his data is predominantly an attempt to justify the creation of his category-------hereditary feeble-minded.

Goddard summarized his data in twenty-one tables that compare the incidence of "feeblemindedness" to the incidence of other social behaviors. A typical hereditary feebleminded family contained a disproportionately large number of individuals described as sexually immoral and alcoholic and were usually the families of inmates of a higher mental age. Families identified as "neuropathic"or"accident-caused," showed a marked decrease in the numoer of family members labeled as alcoholic or sexually immoral and were more frequently families of inmates with a lower mental age. Goddard identifies these families as representing "good parentage".[6] A look at the data shows that good parentage also means that these families were not alcoholic, sexually immoral and probably not as poor. What one suspects is that Goddard grouped into a class people whose lifestyles and standard of living were not within the norm for himself and his professional staff. The high frequency with which social behavior is judged negatively and then associated with the label feebleminded is part of Goddard's attempt to correlate social and mental behavior. (See Appendix C, Table I.)

It is reasonable to propose that the classification of families as hereditary feebleminded was influenced by Goddard's belief in the hereditary nature of a general social degeneracy in the feebleminded. Out of 288 people whose sexual habits were considered to be extremely promiscious, only 15 were evaluated as normal mentally. And, of the 169 people marked as both feebleminded and sexually immoral, only one was from a family that was not classified geneticly defective, ie. hereditary feebleminded. (Perhaps it is sexual immorality that is inherited.) In the hereditary Group 48.2% of the families were marked as having one or more sexually immoral member, as opposed to 7% to 21% in the other groups. Almost 4% of the 6868 members in the hereditary Group were also marked sexually immoral, as opposed to .26% to 1.4% of the other Groups. Of the 278 illegitimate children 259 or 93% were in the hereditary feebleminded group.

Of the 288 people marked sexually immoral, 194 were women and 94 were men. And of this group of 194 women only three were categorized mentally normal. That twice as many women as men were marked sexually immoral undoubtedly reflects excessive social condemnation of women for sexual activity and again points to the influence of judgments of social behavior in the categorizing of mental ability.

Goddard relied heavily on the data on alcoholism to show an association between negative social behavior (alcoholism), feeble-mindedness, and the categorization of the defect as hereditary. (See Appendix C, Table II) In a comparison of couples who are both labeled normal (N-N) vs. both feebleminded (F-F) the proportion of alcoholics in the (F-F) matings is more than six times as great as in the (N-N) matings. The percent of alcoholics in the families of the hereditary feebleminded group is higher than the projected percent based on a distribution over all groups. Goddard attributed the high incidence of alcoholism to the genetic weakness of the feeble-minded individual.

> There are more (alcoholic) persons in this group (the hereditary feebleminded) than an even distribution would warrant, which means that there is some influence in the situation producing more alcoholics in this group than in the others. What that something is, is lack of control characteristic of those persons that belong to families where there is hereditary feeble-mindedness. (1914, pg. 480)

In attributing alcoholism to hereditary feeblemindedness Goddard simultaneously denied all possibility of an alcoholic pre-natal environment contributing to feeblemindedness. Goddard presented David, the son of an alcoholic father, as proof of his position. David's father had normal children by a prior marriage and then married David's mother who was supposedly feebleminded and consequently had feebleminded children. Goddard

suggested that the "inherited" feeblemindedness of David's mother was the cause of David's disability. Goddard failed to note that the wife who produced the feebleminded children (David's mother) was also alcoholic. Goddard maintained his bias against environmental influences in the face of rather strong evidence to the contrary. If the hereditary feebleminded group is divided into alcoholic and non-alcoholic, 35% more feebleminded offspring come from alcoholic parents. Deaths in infancy and miscarriages are also much higher in the alcoholic than in the non-alcoholic group. The non-alcoholic group shows 8.5% deaths in infancy and 3.5% miscarriages for a total of 12% compared to 17.6% deaths in infancy and 8.2% miscarriages for a total of 25.8% in the alcoholic group. Even when notations in the child's record at time of entry into the institution indicated that probable cause could have been pre-natal alcoholism, Goddard adamantly argued against this possibility. Stating that the germ cell is "most carefully protected from all injurious influences," he rejected the assigned cause and declared the real cause to be "bad protoplasm."[7]

The association between criminal behavior and hereditary feeblemindedness was an important part of Goddard's popularization of his theory, particularly his plan to colonize the feebleminded.[8] However, even Goddard noted that criminal behavior appeared in the data at a very low rate. Out of 11,381 persons

in all groups, only 45 or .39% are marked, criminalistic. Of these, 45 are men and 4 are women. Twenty-four are listed as feebleminded, 1 as normal and 20 are unknown. Even with this sparse sample Goddard attempted to advance the argument for the hereditary nature of feeblemindedness and social degeneracy.[9] 15% of the Hereditary Group families were labeled as having one or more criminals, as compared to .24 to 5.4% in the other groups. Of the 6,868 persons in the Hereditary Group 37 or .53% had a criminal record. This compared to 0.44% in the other groups. Yet Goddard declared "the strong preponderance in the Hereditary Group" to be significant. (1914, pg. 518)

It can be argued from Goddard's data that what was occuring was a cycle of economic deprivation reproducing its own causes in the weakening of the individuals by the alienation and marginality of their lifestyles. However, whenever Goddard dealt with these matters, he interpreted what he saw as hereditary, not social, reproduction. An alternative explanation might be that the reverse was the case. Perhaps the occurrence of sexual immorality, alcoholism and poverty led case workers and even informants to identify individuals as feebleminded. A common theme in Goddard's work is that people who were considered normal in the families of the Hereditary Group were not as a rule people of average intelligence, but in almost all cases were "of a low grade of intelligence and often low type socially." (1914, pg. 511)

This group of people, Goddard's "children" and their extended families, people who were illiterate and poor, but lacked all stigmata of mental defect and could do industrial and domestic work and who were attractive enough to pose a danger by their ability to reproduce, were a class of people that Goddard sought to control, to limit, to colonize. Their sexual activities drinking habits and poverty were an affront to middle class sensibilities. Numerous examples in the narratives show the fieldworkers' "scientific evaluations" were permeated with values derived from a more comfortable and protected class position. Goddard offered the following extract from a fieldworker's notebook as showing "a social condition that is indeed appalling." (1914, pg. 295)

February 28, 1910

> Of all the doleful days I have ever spent, and of all the hideous abodes of squalor and crime I have ever entered, Friday February 25th, 1910 stands out alone and unequalled. The veritable 'Hexen Kuche,' is to be found in South Jersey, where imps and devils preside.
>
> . . . the family in all its connections is the lowest of the low, living in remote cabins that every now and then vomit forth their brood to be a pest in the land, and to finally go and fill our jail and almshouse records. Lucky the boy that finds entrance in an Institution like Vineland!

> It was the presiding witch herself who opened the cabin door and stood frowning on me. She could not at once grasp the situation nor answer my questions intelligently. With all my heart, I wished to turn back, and run, but instead I said, 'Perhaps you will let me come in and then perhaps I can make the matter clearer to you.' She led the way into the inner room where a woman and man were sitting bundled in heavy outside wraps. The latter looked like a desperado such as one reads about in books.
>
> The old woman was brown and shriveled, a three cornered shawl covered her head; deep and repulsive lines on her face told of the unholy life she had lived.
>
> To make room for me, she pushed the revolting remains of the day's dinner away from one corner of the table and I sat down.
>
> . . .Whether the old woman was born feeble-minded or whether it is only the stupor engendered by her hideous life I do not know, for she does not belong to any category I have yet encountered. Certainly such a woman, let her condition be one way or the other, has no right to continue to exhale her renown over the land and to afford the hideous protection to vice and crime which she is certainly doing. I left her with feelings of loathing and disgust, such as human beings seldom engender in me.

A methodological bias was created by the definition that Goddard gave to the category "feebleminded". By defining feeble-minded as the inability to reason responsibly about one's social actions and therefore being vulnerable to a life of crime, immorality and poverty, Goddard created a list of defining

characteristics by which individuals could be identified and placed in a class, the feebleminded. These individuals and families whose lifestyles were characterized by alcoholism, pregnancy out of wedlock, more than one sexual partner and extreme poverty fit the definition of Goddard's category, feebleminded. They were evaluated by fieldworkers whose lifestyles and belief systems did not include these behaviors. Consequently they were judged to be unable, mentally, to control their instincts and avoid the corruption of congregate social life.

When Goddard extended his evaluation of mental levels from the inmates of the Vineland Institution to the residents of the community, he no longer was measuring word recognition and ability to count or copy a design. These tasks, which are part of the defining properties of the categories of the Binet Scale were replaced by categories based on social standing, responsibility to a monogamous nuclear family and temperance. Activities that are greatly influenced by economic conditions were ignored as having any causal role in the determination of living style.

Goddard's conceptualization of mental ability rejects economic exploitation as a determinant of living conditions, and in turn rejects life style as a determinant of intellectual growth.

GODDARD'S PLAN FOR SOCIAL ACTION

The period, 1910-1920, saw first generation immigrant workers and workers from different parts of the United States and rural areas form a new class of industrial workers. This class organized itself into a new productive force by creating a leadership that spoke to their collective interest. The Textile Strikes of 1913 and 1914 and the Packing House Strike of 1919 were successful. And, although it did not succeed, the Steel Strike of 1919 brought workers together across racial and ethnic lines. The reaction of the state against workers was severe. The eventual destruction of the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) signaled to unions the degree to which the state would repress labor organizing. During this period the Soviet Revolution brought world attention to socialism while the government here reacted by the Red Scare of 1919-1920. Throughout this time the resources of the state were used to repress the rising aspiration of the working class.

Scientific thought at that time expressed itself through the work of professionals like Goddard who saw these new forces as inferior in intelligence and a threat to the common good. Goddard saw the existing social system failing to control the workers, by failing to keep them in their proper places. Discontented workers, claimed Goddard, were simply unintelligent workers misplaced in jobs too difficult for them. In order to fulfill

the charge of his heritage, ie. being among those of higher intelligence, Goddard did what he advocated, he worked for the social good through the application of his scientific knowledge--which just happened to mean the organization of a rationally stratified society.

Citing the large attention given to the science of eugenics as an indication that society was interested in the problem of improving the race, Goddard presented the discovery of hereditary feeblemindedness as a natural point of attack. He proposed to restrain the ignorant and unintelligent from mating and producing offspring and to appeal to intelligent people not to marry into families where there was any hereditary taint.

> The feebleminded person is not desirable, he is a social encumbrance, often a burden to himself. In short it were better both for him and for society had he never been born. Should we not then, in our attempt to improve the race, begin by preventing the birth of more feeble-minded? (1914, pg. 558)

Using Mendel's formula of dominant and recessive transmission of traits, Goddard developed a guideline of marriageable and unmarriageable partners. Noting that the feebleminded should never marry and become parents, that such people do not, as a rule obey the law, Goddard discussed the necessity of considering sterilization and colonization. However, he noted that these were hard to achieve; sterilization "offends the sentiments of

many people," and colonization is difficult because "a large part of these people are in their childhood and their parents will not consent to their being colonized." (1914, pg 558) So what is to be done?

> If we cannot remove the mental defective from society to a colony, we can at least colonize him where he is . . . (1914, pg. 582)

This was to be accomplished by educating communities to the characteristics and needs of the feebleminded, and by the creation of a national registry so that the people of reasonable intellect could know when they were dealing with a feebleminded person. This is where Goddard's plan becomes expansive.

> Now that we know what feeble-mindedness is, and we have come to suspect all persons who are incapable of adapting themselves to their environment and living up to the conventions of society or acting sensible, of being feebleminded, we are ready to think of all these ne'er-do-wells as possible defectives. (1914, pg. 571)

Goddard advocated a plan of "practical applications" which included: a) arresting all drunkards, testing and sorting them; b) taking all of the prostitutes into custody, testing and sorting them and treating them as feebleminded; c) examining the mentality of every inmate of every almshouse and doing every thing possible to "prevent the further propagation of that stock;" and d) examining every penal institution, identifying the defective (Goddard estimated that this would be over 50%) and treating them as

feebleminded rather than as criminals. Goddard summarized the advantage of these actions to be the ability to "get ahold of a large number of mental defectives that we can not touch by any other method". (1914, pg. 569)

One of Goddard's concerns was efficiency. Goddard saw efficiency to be a positive value so generally accepted that a definition was not necessary. In actuality what Goddard meant by efficiency was every worker in his or her place, happy to have a job and grateful to the benevolence of his or her boss, who, by their goodwill and superior intelligence, made employment possible. Goddard's appeal to the need to improve efficiency was one of his key arguments in transfering his theory of measurable levels of mental ability from the inmates of the Vineland Training School to the general public.

> The efficiency of a human group is not a question of absolute numbers of persons of high or low intelligence. It is a question of whether each grade of intelligence is assigned a part, in the whole organization, that is within its capacity. (1919, pg. 35)

High on Goddard's list of social problems to be solved by increased efficiency was labor. Workers were to be paid first according to their intelligence and second according to their labor. Workers were to be matched to jobs by intelligence, thereby creating balance and harmony. And if the job market called for workers of higher intelligence to take lower jobs, having no

was that low could make a sufficiently wise choice of rulers to insure the success of a democracy. 'The disturbing fear is that the masses will take matters into their own hands." (1919 pg. 97) To avoid this, Goddard reasoned that those of superior intelligence must maintain their position of control by applying their intelligence to the practical problem of social welfare and efficiency. Those of lower intelligence will recognize the goodwill of these superiors and continue to elect them, thus creating rule by the best, the most intelligent; what Goddard called aristocracy in democracy. Goddard described the tendency of those of less intelligence to seek and follow the advice of those of of higher intelligence to be "a proposition so invariable as to be recognized as a law of human nature." (1919, pg. 97)

Goddard expanded his critique to include socialism and Bolshevism, philosophies he considered fallacious because they ignored mental levels.

> These men in their ultra altruistic and humane attitude, their desire to be fair to the workman, maintain that the great inequalities in social life are wrong and unjust. It assumes that the laborer is on the same mental level with the man who is defending him. Now the fact is that the workman may have a ten year intelligence while you have a twenty. How can there be social equality with this wide range of mental capacity.

Goddard saw socialist ideas of equal distribution of the wealth of the world to also be absurd. In his model of intelligence

correlated with responsibility, the wealthy man was wealthy because he had spent his money wisely; the poor man was the cause of his own condition because he had spent his money foolishly. Goddard further reasoned that since the most difficult environment to adapt to is the human environment quarrels, squabbles and feuds would be characteristic of that class of society of moderate intelligence.

> When one contemplates the enormous proportion of misfits that must exist in the industrial world and that such misfits mean discontent and unhappiness for the employee, one can but wonder how much of the present unrest in such circles is due to this fact. A man who is doing work that is well within the capacity of his intelligence and yet that calls forth all his ability is apt to be happy and contented and it is very difficult to disturb any such person by any kind of agitation. (1919 pg. 60)

Goddard made the unqualified assertion that the laborer could not appreciate or enjoy fine things and higher standards of living, and efforts to educate his children so that they would enjoy these things were futile. Goddard called socialism a beautiful theory that disregarded the fact "that people differ in mentality and that each mentality requires its own kind of life for its success and happiness." (1919 p.g 102) It therefore followed that the correct way to alleviate the misfortunes of the poor was to recognize their mentality and treat them in accordance with that mentality. The mental level of their children must be determined when they enter school, the truly gifted should have the broadest and best education and the feebleminded should not be bothered

with reading and writing but rather taught practical things. As the children preceeded and as at each step higher intelligence was required, more would fall out.

For Goddard the large number of feebleminded in the population was redefined as the large number of the inefficient and liberty became a right determined by mental ability. Warning against past practices where the idea of individual freedom encroached upon the domain of social efficiency, Goddard maintained that society had the right to protect itself and to take any action necessary to attain the highest social efficiency. If a person was first examíned and found to be incapable, the subsequent denial of his rights was not a denial of his liberty. The greatest liberty and the highest happiness would only be obtained when each individual was properly adjusted to the rest, which could only happen if they were adjusted according to their mental level.

Goddard was concerned that his democratic aristocracy be benevolent in order to inspire the confidence of the masses. Goddard saw the public's lack of confidence in their intelligent leadership to be "the root of our social problems and the explanation of everything from local labor trouble to Bolshevism." (1919, p. 98) The mistake of the intelligent leadership according to Goddard was to assume that intelligence alone could inspire confidence. But Goddard saw the matter in a different light. Intelligence would only inspire confidence when it was appreciated, and "how

can the unintelligent comprehend intelligence." (1919, pg. 90) Goddard felt that this dilemma could be resolved if those of the higher intelligence employed human qualities that would show by their activities that they cared for the welfare and the happiness of those of less intelligence. In this way they would gain their confidence, their vote and their obedience.[12] Goddard embraced the hypothesis of the normal distribution of intelligence as explaining the facts of civilization more clearly than anything that had previously been proposed.

> We are learning now that there are relatively few things that the moron can do. We are learning that he must be treated as a child. We must next learn that there are great groups of men, laborers, who are but little above the child, who must be told what to do and shown how to do it; and who, if we would avoid disaster, must not be put into positions where they will have to act upon their own initiative or their own judgment. We must learn that the distribution curve applies to every community. There are only a few leaders, most must be followers. (1919b. pg. 243)

Goddard did not restrain himself in projecting social policy, yet he did not have a social theory; he had a psychological theory for a social problem. Based on a theory of hereditary intelligence, Goddard and his associates developed a model for the organization of the entire society. They applied a system of classification based on mental performance to the ills of a society struggling under a particular economic system. By defining all problems

in terms of one psychological model they avoided issues of class struggle, racism and sexism, while simultaneously deepening their negative impact.

The passing on of social categories, with their imbedded economic and political relations, is facilitated by absolutistic belief systems that obfuscate the subjective, or dialectical source of the original classification system. The linking of biological determinism to a ranking of individuals by sex, race or class is just such a belief system. The advent of intelligence testing and the ranking of individuals by mental ability provided much of the rationalization behind early 20th century rankings by sex, race and class.

In responding to his desires to improve the well-being of his "children", the feebleminded in his institution, and to vanquish the general malaise of the society, Goddard was representative of the dominant class in his profession. Justifications for the superiority of some groups at the cost of disenfranchisement and bondage for others are frequently framed in paternalistic terms. It often allows the professional class to accept their role in advancing classification systems that discriminate by sex, race and class.[13]

Goddard's thinking was consistent with the understanding of sex, race/ethnicity and class that dominated his world. In turn,

his conception of nature as hierarchial both directed and limited his analysis. His generalized paternalism towards the "lower orders" and his traditional sex role stereotyping of women reflect his conceptualization of dominance and sexuality. Goddard's response to social unrest, particularly within labor, demonstrates his inability to think beyond the hierarchies of the given social order. Underlying the rigidity of his hierarchies and his biases is a non-dialectical model of causality. Goddard's handling of the role of environment or nurture in the development of mental abilities exhibits a blind resistance to utilizing a framework that is interactive or dialectical.

Georg Lukacs identified the ability to view the totality as the characteristic that distinguishes revolutionary thought in science.

> It is not the primacy of economic motives in historical explanation that constitutes the decisive difference between Marxism and bourgeois thought, but the point of view of totality. The category of totality, the all-pervasive supremacy of the whole over the parts is the essence of the method which Marx took over from Hegel and brilliantly transformed into the foundations of a wholly new science. (pg. 27)

Goddard and his associates gave the appearance of recognizing the category of the whole. All humanity was to be stratified, linked by a continuum of unilinear intellectual progression -- every person to have his or her place. Evolutionary theory gave to this generation of scientists a new perspective on the whole--a linkage explaining the existence of all living creatures, humans

included. The idea of heredity gave the scientific explanation for the reproduction and continuity of the particular variations and forms that existed. In their time these theories appeared to account for the whole -- to encompass and explain the totality.

But theoretical scope does not determine the appropriateness of the result -- the virtue or applicability of a theory. We still must look at the defining properties of the categories and the relations given to members of a class, by virtue of their having been classified. It is the actions of those who seek to classify and order humanity that must be critiqued. For it is in the actions of the subject on the object, during the creation and perpetuation of systems of classification that the hierarchies of value and the resultant inequities are created.

To protect theory from the bias of personal categories of reasoning, it must be asked, repeatedly and diligently, what are the social consequences of the theory? If the answers are that certain classifications, because of their defining properties of sex, race/ethnicity or class, group some people as citizens of a lesser share with reduced rights, then the theory and facts are unacceptable. Unacceptable not because they are based on poor scientific standards, which they are, but unacceptable because they are the result of the pursuit of a direction of human reasoning that is unworthy of further support.

FOOTNOTES

1. pg. 160. Gould's exposure of Goddard's tendencies, including the altering of photographs of the Kallikak family, is only a part of his impressive historical analysis of the relationship between classifications of human mental ability and exploitism.

2. Goddard's weak methodology is also illustrated by his inclusion of 16 people who were classified as feebleminded, yet fieldworkers lacked sufficient knowledge to identify them as either female or male. A significant portion of the individuals in the study were deceased or had long since migrated out of the community. Stating that tradition preserved the reputation of those who were not quite right, Goddard defended the categorization of individuals not directly seen by fieldworkers.

3. An individual earned the label sexually immoral by the occurence of illegitimate children or multiple sex partners. Goddard described immorality as meaning "notorious cases, cases where there is external evidence in the form of illegitimate children, notorious prostitutes, or men equally notorious in their violation of the moral code. (1914, pg. 497)

4. The intensity of Goddard's reaction to female sexuality produces some rather amusing declarations, such as his contention that "it is a notorious fact that men judges and men physicians refuse to admit a girl is feeble-minded if she is pretty." (1919, pg. 14)

5. Goddard attempted to defind environmental causes as merely generating excuses. "There are so many excuses for a criminal or a pauper or an intemperate person. He may have been badly trained, his school education nil, his home environment bad, and so on thru a long list, each in itself enough to account for his condition." (1914, pg. 5)

6. Goddard explained the pattern of a higher frequency of lower mental ages in the non-hereditary groups by referring to the obvious: imbiciles and idiots do not mate and reproduce, therefore their defect cannot be transmitted hereditarily. (1914, pg. 440)

7. See Goddard (1914) pg. 126 and pg. 474.

8. "The criminal is not born; he is made. The so-called criminal type is merely a type of feeblemindedness, a type misunderstood and mistreated, driven into criminality for which he is well fitted by nature. It is hereditary feeblemindedness not hereditary criminality that accounts for the condition. We have seen only the end product and failed to recognize the character of the raw material." (1914, pg. 8)

9. Goddard reasoned that criminality appeared at a very low rate because the study only counted people who had been arrested. He described "these people" as being largely from rural districts, where their temptations were not so great, and where minor crimes were not accounted. for. He also stated that the "criminalistic" people on the charts who do not belong genetically to the families but marry in, therefore making the hereditary issue questionable, are "only significant as showing the kind of company these people keep." (1914, pg. 516)

10. See Stephen Jay Gould, The Mismeasurement of Man and Franz Samuelson "Putting Psychology on the Map: Ideology and Intelligence Testing" in Psychology in Social Context, ed. Allen Buss, for excellent critiques of the Alpha Test and its racist and class biased use.

11. A report by the Surgeon General, issued at the time of the testing, that many of the men ranked of inferior intelligence were illiterate or foreign born. Goddard was aware of this report, but like all other data that pointed towards environmental effects on performance, Goddard saw this as yet further proof of the fixedness of mental ability as a determiner of one's capacity to handle the environment. He interpreted ethnic and regional variations in performance as evidence of the intellectual superiority of the white native born males.

12. It was in the context of the necessity for a rule-by-intelligence within democracy that Goddard defended the position that the feebleminded should never be allowed to vote, for one feebleminded vote could nullify the vote of the most intelligent citizen.

13. In 1928 Goddard published an article "Feeblemindedness. A Question of Definition" in which he modified many of his more extreme positions. He allowed that only a small percentage of the people who test at a mental age of 12 are incapable of managing their affairs or competing in the struggle for existence. And that the question of an individuals ability to compete in the struggle for existence varies with "the condition of the labor market and the price of wheat." (pg. 221) He willingly reversed his position on the environment and allowed that education could do a lot for the development of survival skills in the "moron" and that factors other than intelligence play a role in human functioning. And, most amazingly, he reversed himself on the necessity of preventing the "feeble-minded" from reproducing, stating that there was not much evidence to support the fear that the feeble-minded will be necessity reproduce more feeble=minded, and if they did, so what. This article, published in The Journal of Psycho-Asthenics reveived scant attention and Goddard, himself, did not promulgate his new vision with the same fervor that he invested in the advancement of his earlier work.

APPENDIX A: EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS

Male	Female	
		Feeble-minded
		Normal
		Probably feeble-minded
		Probably normal
		Mentality undetermined.
		Shows the child in the Vineland Training School
		Miscarriage or still birth.
		Under a symbol indicates that the individual was in some public Institution.
		In the first the digit shows the number of persons represented by the symbol, i.e., two normal men. In the second the digit shows the number of children, i.e., a feeble-minded woman had three children.
d.		Died
d. inf.		Died in infancy (under 2 years).

A	Alcoholic -- meaning decidedly imtemperate, a drunkard		
B	Blind	Neu.	Neurotic
C	Criminalistic	Par.	Paralytic
D	Deaf	Sy	Syphilitic
E	Epileptic	Sx	Sexually immoral
G	Goitre	T	Tuberculous
I	Insane	W	Wanderer, tramp
M	Migrainous		

APPENDIX B: Typical "causes of defect" given at time of admissions into the institution and selections from the narratives of the 327 cases.*

Ivan -- instruments were used at birth

Nora -- accident and acute sickness in childhood

Fanny -- mother epileptic

Stephen -- had rickets as a child, could not walk until he was three

Walter -- sickness of mother prior to birth

Marcellus -- struck with a cane

Godfry -- spasms and fall from couch at 12 mos.

Karl -- covered with boils at birth, during childhood had measles, whooping cough and an abscess on his eardrum

Kenneth -- convulsions during dentition

Ned -- condition attributed to mother's ill health

Jennie -- condition is said to be congenital, supposed to be due to the condition of the mother.

Grace -- the condition is said to be congenital from the father's alcoholism

Mollie -- a sickly baby, weighed 2½ lbs. at birth.

Herman -- assigned cause 'unfavorable environment, gross neglect from birth.' Mother had syphilis.

George -- assigned cause, an attack of diarrhea at 7 mos. resulting in hydrocephaloid state.

David Q -- assigned cause, method of nourishment, condensed milk

Warren -- assigned cause of the defect, serious fall of the mother

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* Full texts of all cases are easily located, by number, in Goddard's Feeblemindedness, Its Causes and Consequences. (1914)

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Harry -- condition attributed to a fall at the age of 14 mos.

Willfred -- assigned cause, weakness and nervous condition of mother's mind

Norman -- too strong of medicine given for peculiar crying spells

Nora -- congenital and insufficient nourishment

John -- long labor and possibly syphilis

Upton -- meningitis supposed to be the cause of the defect

Case #1. Karl, born pre-mature, with spasms and paralysis at 6 months, had measles at 7 years, diptheria at 11 years, membranous croup at 3, plus typhiod fever. Karl is described as having no noticeable stigma, would pass as "illiterate workman". Mother is describes as normal woman but physically in bad condition (she had 12 miscarriages). The father's side is identified as feeble-minded and syphilitic. Karl was said to have congestion of the brain when he was a baby. Goddard's comments are: "This is a very instructive case since a superficial knowledge of the family would lead us to conclude that the premature birth or the condition of the mother was the cause of the defect, but a deeper study shows without a doubt that there was hereditary feeble-mindedness in the father." According to the chart, Karl's father's mother had syphilis and was sexually immoral, and of course feebleminded.

Case #2. Malcolm, the only surviving child of a mother who had 8 miscarriages, had convulsions at 4 mos., whooping cough at 4 years, measles at 7, scarlet fever at 9 and pneumonia. Illness is given as the cause of his condition on his record. His father was alcoholic.

Case #3. Thomas, a common story of a child who starts out at the Institution with bad habits and then becomes a good worker, in this case a dairyman. Thomas was 20 years old, he had been there 10 years. Two brothers and mother were epileptic. The assigned cause on his record was "sickness of the mother".

Case #4. Theresa, a 42 year old woman who had been in the Institution for 25 years, was epileptic, her spasms described as violent. Eight of Theresa's brothers and sisters died before they were a month old. Of her two sisters and one brother who were surviving, one was categorized as feebleminded and as having a feebleminded son. That is the extent of any defect in this family geneology, yet Goddard states that "this is clearly a case of heredity."

Case #5. Bessie, a 25 year old woman who had been in the Institution 13 years. Her mother was labeled feebleminded as were half of her 11 brothers and sisters. There was no other feeblemindedness identified in any other generation and three of Bessie's sisters (two of whom were labeled feebleminded) had normal children. (Goddard's belief in the principle of recessive genes that appear in later generations, depending on the pairing with other genes, is very important to his justification for classifying families like Bessie's in the category hereditary feebleminded.)

Case #6. Donald, 25 year old man who scored mental age of 9, had been at the Institution for 13 years. His mother died of syphilis as did twin brothers (at birth). All of the fathers are unknown, yet Goddard maintains this family to be an hereditary case.

Case #7. Iva, a 38 year old woman who had been in the Institution for 23 years, tested at age 8 on the scale. Iva was epileptic and had had some form of paralysis at age 6. Of her mother's 7 pregnancies, 3 were miscarriages, 2 were deaths in infancy and 2 were classified as feebleminded.

Case #8. Konrad, described as a handsome boy who at the age of 17 still tested at a mental age of 11, wrote loving letters to his mother. Goddard describes Konrad as "somewhat undersized but neat in his appearance, a free talker who would pass for normal almost anywhere. Any defect that would show would be attributed to lack of schooling rather than to mental defect." His mother was alcoholic.

Case #9. Sam, described as a good worker whose father is a very high grade, so much so that "for a considerable time we were very much in doubt as to how to classify him. His feebleminded-ness takes the form which makes him noted as being 'peculiar'. He is ignorant, lives along, but is a good workman, sober, honest and industrious."

Case #10. Will's mother is described as feebleminded and a sexual pervert of the lowest type. (No further definition of this label is provided.) The father is described as of normal intelligence, sexually immoral, alcoholic and thoroughly a bad man. From the chart we see that Will's mother had four illigitimate children, his father was married four times.

Case #11. Mary, 26 years old. Had been at the Institute for 19 years. Goddard notes that "Mary's case is worthy of much study since her unusually high mentality of 10 years brings her up to the division of those who are not usually recognized as defective, and who because of that are a menace to society. She is cheerful, active and obedient, very quiet and affectionate, willing and tries." Five of Mary's 7 brothers and sisters died in infancy.

Case #12. Nellie, a 19 year old woman who had been at the Institution for 12 years. When she was admitted at the age of 6, she was described as "only a little backward." She now tested at the age of 9. Goddard notes that "this girl is a striking illustration of the type of woman who, out in the world, becomes quickly victimized because of her quiet, innocent, unresisting manner. Pretty and attractive, she holds the attention of the passerby, is easily captured by the designing rascal and may even attract a man of more intelligence."

Case #13. Isador, 25 year old man who tested mentally at 9 and had been in the Institution for 10 years, is described as relatively high grade, a fine looking young man, without any noticeable stigmata of degeneracy. Goddard notes that "this is a typical case of that great group that is socially so dangerous. No one but experts in the area of feebleminded-ness would suspect anything wrong with him."

Case #14. Keith, a 16 year old man who had been in the Institution for 6 years, is described as handsome, active and pleasant. Goddard noted that "one can hardly imagine a more dangerous person that Keith would be if outside the Institution. He would be the victim of his environment and he would have just enough mentality to chose a bad environment."

Appendix C

TABLE I

FREQUENCY AND DISTRIBUTION OF SEXUAL IMMORALITY (SX)

288 Persons on 96 Charts are marked Sx. They are divided as follows:

MENTALITY		HEREDITARY 79 CHARTS	PROBABLY H 5 CHARTS	NEU. 8 CHARTS	ACCIDENT 4 CHARTS	TOTAL 96 CHARTS
Normal	Men	6	2	0	1	9
	Women	3	2	1	0	6
Feeble-minded	Men	40	0	0	0	40
	Women	129*	1	0	0	130
Undetermined	Men	31	2	11	1	45
	Women	49	1	5	3	58
TOTALS.		258	8	17	5	288

Total feeble-minded 170 -- Normal 15 -- Undetermined 103.
Total Men 94 -- Total Women 194.

Of 164 Charts in Hereditary Group	79 Charts or 48.2% show Sx
Of 34 Charts in Probably H. Group	5 Charts or 14.7% show Sx
Of 37 Charts in Neuropathic Group	8 Charts or 21.6% show Sx
Of 57 Charts in Accident Group	4 Charts or 7.0% show Sx
Of 8 Charts in No Cause Group	0 Chart shows Sx

Of 300 Charts	96 Charts or 32.0% show Sx
Of 6868 Persons in Hereditary Group	258 or 3.75% are marked Sx
Of 1115 Persons in Probably H. Group	8 or 0.71% are marked Sx
Of 1212 Persons in Neuropathic Group	17 or 1.40% are marked Sx
Of 1913 Persons in Accidenc Group	5 or 0.26% are marked Sx
Of 281 Persons in No Cause Group	9 are marked Sx
Of 11389 Persons in all Groups	288 or 2.52% are Marked Sx

(1914, pg. 498)

APPENDIX D

Table II

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FEEBLE-MINDED AND NORMAL CHILDREN IN ALCOHOLIC AND NON-ALCOHOLIC FAMILIES

Totals

Condition of Parents		No. of Matings	Total Children of Known Mentality	% F	% N
Hereditary	Non A	1020	2355	46.1	53.8
	A	201	516	75.1	24.8
Neuropathic	Non A	123	301	6.3	93.6
	A	13	43	20.9	79.0
Accident	Non A	321	1020	4.9	95.0
	A	14	51	19.6	80.3
No Cause	Non A	50	175	5.1	94.8
	A	3	7	0.0	100.0
Grand Totals	Non A	1514	3851	30.2	69.7
	A	231	617	65.9	34.0

(1914, pg. 490)

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